The Virginia Gazette and Alexandria Advertiſer.

OH! THOU, BY WHOSE ALMIGHTY NOD THE SCALE
OF EMPIRE RISES, OR, ALTERNATE, FALLS,
SEND FORTH THE SAVING VIRTUES ROUND THIS LAND!

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HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES OF THE *UNITED STATES.*

WEDNESDAY, *December* 22.

Militia Bill ſtill under conſideration.

MR. Smith (S. C.) This debate ſeems to be detailed when gentlemen appear to think very much alike upon the ſubject. The queſtion is how the fine or penalty ſhall be aſſeſſed; though ſome appear diſpoſed to exempt thoſe people not only from perſonal ſervice, but from all commutation. It then ſeems neceſſary that the queſtion ſhould be firſt determined whether an equivalent ſhall be paid or not. According to the ſentiments of ſome gentlemen, it is propoſed to go further than even this ſtate has, in which the greateſt number of theſe perſons exiſt—for when in convention the queſtion was taken for ſtriking out the penalty, only 7 or 8 members roſe in favour of it.—But he thought this propoſition improperly added to the firſt amendment, and wiſhed it might be withdrawn, till the queſtion whether the exemptions ſhould be made by the ſtates or by the general government is determined.

Mr. Madiſon replied to Mr. Smith, he ſaid that he conceived his motion a proper amendment at this place—as the gentleman from Connecticut only moved that the exemptions made by the ſeveral ſtates ſhould be ſanctioned by the general government; but it is conceded that this exemption is not made by the ſeveral ſtates, and therefore ought to be here ſpecified. He ſaid he ſhould acquieſce in an equivalent, though he would prefer a gratuitous exemption.

THURSDAY, *December* 23.

The Amendments to the Militia Bill under conſideration.

The ſubject of exemptions was further diſcuſſed this day.

Mr. Madiſon withdrew for the preſent his propoſition in favour of perſons religiouſly ſcrupulous of bearing arms. The queſtion then was, whether the power of exempting ſhould be excluſively veſted in Congreſs, or be exerciſed partly by the ſeveral States.

The queſtion being called for, Mr. Stone moved that it ſhould be divided; and the queſtion for ſtriking out the words "except as herein after excepted," in order to admit the propoſed amendment, being put, was negatived—the ſubſtitute was ſuperſeded of courſe.

Mr. Moore propoſed, as an amendment to the firſt ſection, to add theſe words, "or with a good rifle, a ſhot bag, &c." which was agreed to.

The amendments to the ſecond ſection being read, the debate on exemptions was renewed.—The amendment by which the particular States are empowered to exempt from militia duty the legiſlative, executive, and judicial officers of the reſpective States, was agreed to by a great majority.

Mr. Madiſon then renewed his propoſition in favour of perſons religiouſly ſcrupulous of bearing arms, in a different form from that before offered, and to the following effect: "That all perſons religiouſly ſcrupulous of bearing arms, who ſhall make a declaration of the ſame before a civil magiſtrate, ſhall be excuſed from performing militia duty; but be liable to a penalty of dollars, to be appropriated as the monies ariſing from the poſt-office are appropriated.

This amendment was ſeconded by Mr. Boudinot, and objected to by Mr. Jackſon, and Mr. Smith.

After ſome debate, Mr. Madiſon propoſed that it ſhould lie on the table for conſideration—and the Houſe adjourned.

FRIDAY, *December* 24.

The amendments of the committee of the whole to the militia bill, were further diſcuſſed this day by the houſe. The debate was continued on Mr. Madiſon's propoſition in favour of perſons conſcientiouſly ſcrupulous of bearing arms. A majority of the ſpeakers appeared to be in favour of their exemption's being left to the ſeveral ſtates: In ſupport of this idea,

Mr. Bourn obſerved, that if the general government ſhould take up the matter, and ſubject the Quakers to a penalty as an equivalent for perſonal ſervice, their ſituation would be rendered leſs eligible than it is at preſent—for, in ſeveral of the ſtates, he obſerved, they are not only exempted from militia duty, but from all fines and penalties in lieu thereof; he inſtanced the States of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, Rhode-Iſland and Connecticut.

Another memorial from the ſociety of Quakers on the Eaſtern ſhore of Maryland, againſt the 16th ſection of the bill, was preſented by Mr. Smith, member from that State, and read.

A motion of Mr. Clymer, to amend the motion of Mr. Madiſon, after ſome diſcuſſion, was negatived—and the original motion being alſo put, was diſagreed to; ſo that, as the bill now ſtands, the exemption of perſons religiouſly ſcrupulous of bearing arms, is to be provided for by the reſpective ſtates.

Mr. Smith (S. C.) then renewed his propoſition reſpecting independent companies—which he informed the houſe he had ſo modified, as to avoid the objections before offered to it. It is to the following effect:—

Whereas certain independent corps of artillery, infantry and dragoons, now exiſt in the ſeveral ſtates—it is hereby enacted, that nothing in this act ſhall be conſtrued to the diſbanding or incorporating ſaid companies in the militia; they at the ſame time being liable to the performance of the military duties herein required.

It being underſtood that the bill ſhould be recommitted to a ſelect committee, it was voted that this propoſition be referred with the bill.

On motion of Mr. Livermore, the 9th ſection of the bill was expunged; a motion by the ſame gentleman to ſtrike out the 10th and 11th ſections was negatived.

It was then moved that the bill be recommitted; which being put, paſſed in the affirmative—and Meſſrs. Wadſworth, Giles and Tucker were appointed the committee.

WEDNESDAY, *December* 29.

The houſe proceeded to conſider a motion made yeſterday by Mr. Tucker, that the committee appointed to prepare and bring in a militia bill, be inſtructed to bring in a clauſe to this effect—"Be it enacted, That the militia of the ſeveral ſtates of the union conſiſting of ſuch perſons as are, or may be enrolled by them reſpectively, ſhall be organized, armed and diſciplined in manner following," and on the queſtion to agree to this motion—the ayes and nays being called for, it paſſed in the negative.—Ayes 8, Noes 43.

Report of the Secretary of the Treaſury.

[*Concluded from our laſt.*]

BANKS are among the beſt expedients for lowering the rate of intereſt in a country; but to have this effect, their capitals muſt be completely equal to all the demands of buſineſs, and ſuch as will tend to remove the idea, that the accommodations they afford, are, in any degree, favours; an idea very apt to accompany the parſimonious diſpenſations of contracted funds. In this, as in every other caſe, the plenty of the commodity ought to beget a moderation of the price.

The want of a principle of rotation, in the conſtitution of the bank of North-America, is another argument for a variation of the eſtabliſhment. Scarcely one of the reaſons which militate againſt this principle, in the conſtitution of a country, is applicable to that of a bank, while there are ſtrong reaſons in favour of it, in relation to the one, which, no doubt, apply to the other. The knowledge to be derived from experience is the only circumſtance common to both, which pleads againſt rotation in the directing officers of a bank.

But the objects of the government of a nation, and thoſe of the government of a bank, are ſo widely different, as greatly to weaken the force of that conſideration, in reference to the latter. Almoſt every important caſe of legiſlation requires, towards a right deciſion, a general and accurate acquaintance with the affairs of the State, and habits of thinking, ſeldom acquired but from a familiarity with public concerns. The adminiſtration of a bank, on the contrary, is regulated by a few ſimple fixed maxims, the application of which is not difficult to any man of judgment, eſpecially if inſtructed in the principles of trade. It is in general a conſtant ſucceſſion of the ſame details.

But though this be the caſe, the idea of the advantages of experience is not to be ſlighted. Room ought to be left for the regular tranſmiſſion of official information. And for this purpoſe, the head of the direction ought to be excepted from the principle of rotation. With this exception, and with the aid of the information of the ſubordinate officers, there can be no danger of any ill effects from want of experience, or knowledge; eſpecially as the periodical excluſion ought not to reach the whole of the directors at one time.

The argument in favour of the principle of rotation is this, that by leſſening the danger of combination among the directors, to make the inſtitution ſubſervient to party views, or to the accommodation, preferably, of any particular ſet of men, it will render the public confidence more firm, ſtable and unqualified.

When it is conſidered, that the directors of a bank are not elected by the great body of the community, in which a diverſity of views will naturally prevail, at different conjunctures, but by a ſmall and ſelect claſs of men, among whom it is far more eaſy to cultivate a ſteady adherence to the ſame perſons and objects; and that thoſe directors have it in their power ſo immediately to conciliate, by obliging the moſt influential of this claſs, it is eaſy to perceive, that without the principle of rotation, changes in that body can rarely happen, but as a conceſſion which they may themſelves think it expedient to make to public opinion.

The continual adminiſtration of an inſtitution of this kind, by the ſame perſons, will never fail, with or without cauſe, from their conduct, to excite diſtruſt and diſcontent. The neceſſary ſecrecy of their tranſactions, gives unlimited ſcope to imagination to infer that ſomething is, or may be wrong. And this *inevitable* myſtery is a ſolid reaſon for inſerting in the conſtitution of a bank the neceſſity of a change of men. As neither the maſs of the parties intereſted, nor the public in general, can be permitted to be witneſſes of the interior management of the directors, it is reaſonable that both ſhould have that check upon their conduct, and that ſecurity againſt the prevalency of a partial or pernicious ſyſtem, which will be produced by the certainty of periodical changes. Such too is the delicacy of the credit of a bank, that every thing which can ſatisfy confidence and repel ſuſpicion, without injuring it's operations, ought carefully to be ſought after in it's formation.

A further conſideration in favour of a change, is the improper rule, by which the right of voting for directors is regulated in the plan, upon which the bank of North-America was originally conſtituted, namely, a vote for each ſhare, and the want of a rule in the laſt charter; unleſs the ſilence of it, on that point, may ſignify that every ſtockholder is to have an equal and ſingle vote, which would be a rule, in a different extreme, not leſs erroneous. It is of importance that a rule ſhould be eſtabliſhed on this head, as it is one of thoſe things which ought not to be left to diſcretion; and it is conſequently of equal importance, that the rule ſhould be a proper one.

A vote for each ſhare, renders a combination between a few principal ſtockholders, to monopolize the power and benefits of a bank, too eaſy. An equal vote to each ſtockholder, however great or ſmall his intereſt in the inſtitution, allows not that degree of weight to large ſtockholders, which it is reaſonable they ſhould have, and which perhaps their ſecurity and that of the bank require. A prudent mean is to be preferred. A conviction of this has produced a bye-law of the corporation of the bank of North-America, which evidently aims at ſuch a mean. But a reflection ariſes here, that a like majority with that which enacted this law, may at any moment repeal it.

The laſt inducement which ſhall be mentioned, is the want of precautions to guard againſt a foreign influence inſinuating itſelf into the direction of a bank. It ſeems ſcarcely reconcileable with a due caution, to permit that any but citizens ſhould be eligible, as directors of a national bank, or that non-reſident foreigners ſhould be able to influence the appointment of directors, by the votes of their proxies. In the event, however, of an incorporation of the bank of North-America, in the plan, it may be neceſſary to qualify this principle, ſo as to leave the right of foreigners, who now hold ſhares of it's ſtock, unimpaired; but without the power of tranſmitting the privilege in queſtion, to foreign alienees.

It is to be conſidered, that ſuch a bank is not a mere matter of private property, but a political machine of the greateſt importance to the ſtate.

There are other variations from the conſtitution of the bank of North-America, not of inconſiderable moment, which appear deſirable, but which are not of magnitude enough to claim a preliminary diſcuſſion. Theſe will be ſeen in the plan which will be ſubmitted in the ſequel.

If the objections which have been ſtated to the conſtitution of the bank of North-America, are admitted to be well-founded, they will nevertheleſs not derogate from the merit of the main deſign, or of the ſervices which that bank has rendered, or of the benefits which it has produced. The creation of ſuch an inſtitution, at the time it took place, was a meaſure dictated by wiſdom. It's utility has been amply evinced by it's fruits—American independence owes much to it—and it is very conceivable, that reaſons of the moment may have rendered thoſe features in it inexpedient, which a reviſion, with a permanent view, ſuggeſts as deſirable.

The order of the ſubject leads next to an inquiry into the principles upon which a national bank ought to be organized.

The ſituation of the United States naturally inſpires a wiſh, that the form of the inſtitution could admit of a plurality of branches. But various conſiderations diſcourage from purſuing this idea. The complexity of ſuch a plan would be apt to inſpire doubts, which might deter from adventuring in it: And the practicability of a ſafe and orderly adminiſtration, though not to be abandoned as deſperate, cannot be made ſo manifeſt in perſpective, as to promiſe the removal of thoſe doubts, or to juſtify the government in adopting the idea as an original experiment. The moſt that would ſeem adviſable, on this point, is to inſert a proviſion, which may lead to it hereafter; if experience ſhall more clearly demonſtrate it's utility, and ſatisfy thoſe who may have the direction, that it may be adopted with ſafety. It is certain, that it would have ſome advantages, both peculiar and important. Beſides more general accommodation, it would leſſen the danger of a run upon the bank.

The argument againſt it is, that each branch muſt be under a diſtinct, though ſubordinate direction, to which a conſiderable latitude of diſcretion muſt of neceſſity be entruſted. And as the property of the whole inſtitution would be liable for the engagements of each part, that and it's credit would be at ſtake, upon the prudence of the directors of every part. The miſmanagement of either branch might hazard ſerious diſorder in the whole.

Another wiſh, dictated by the particular ſituation of the country is, that the bank could be ſo conſtituted as to be made an immediate inſtrument of loans to the proprietors of land; but this wiſh alſo yields to the difficulty of accompliſhing it. Land is alone an unfit fund for a bank circulation. If the notes iſſued upon it were not to be payable in coin, on demand, or at a ſhort date, this would amount to nothing more than a repetition of the paper emiſſions, which are now exploded by the general voice. If the notes are to be payable in coin, the land muſt firſt be converted into it by ſale, or mortgage. The difficulty of effecting the latter is the very thing which begets the deſire of finding another reſource, and the former would not be practicable on a ſudden emergency, but with ſacrifices which would make the cure worſe than the diſeaſe. Neither is the idea of conſtituting the fund partly of coin and partly of land, free from impediments. Theſe two ſpecies of property do not, for the moſt part, unite in the ſame hands. Will the monied man conſent to enter into a partnerſhip with the landholder, by which *the latter* will ſhare in the profits *which will be* made *by the money of the former?* The money, it is evident, will be the agent or efficient cauſe of the profits—the land can only be regarded as an additional ſecurity. It is not difficult to foreſee, that an union, on ſuch terms, will not readily be formed. If the landholders are to procure the money by the ſale or mortgage of a part of their lands, this they can as well do, when the ſtock conſiſts wholly of money, as if it were to be compounded of money and land.

To procure for the landholders the aſſiſtance of loans, is the great deſideratum. Suppoſing other difficulties ſurmounted, and a fund created, compoſed partly of coin and partly of land, yet the benefit contemplated could only then be obtained, by the bank's advancing them it's notes for the whole, or part, of the value of the lands they had ſubſcribed to the ſtock. If this advance was ſmall, the relief aimed at would not be given; if it was large, the quantity of notes iſſued would be a cauſe of *diſtruſt*, and if received at all, they would be likely to return ſpeedily upon the bank for payment; which, after exhauſting it's coin, might be under a neceſſity of turning it's lands into money, at any price that could be obtained for them, to the irreparable prejudice of the proprietors.

Conſiderations of public advantage ſuggeſt a further wiſh, which is, that the bank could be eſtabliſhed upon principles that would cauſe the profits of it to redound to the immediate benefit of the State. This is contemplated by many, who ſpeak of a national bank; but the idea ſeems liable to inſuperable objections. To attach full confidence to an inſtitution of this nature, it appears to be an eſſential ingredient in it's ſtructure, that it ſhall be under a *private* not a *public* direction, under the guidance of *individual intereſt*, not of *public policy*; which would be ſuppoſed to be, and in certain emergencies, under a feeble or too ſanguine adminiſtration, would really be, liable to being too much influenced by *public neceſſity*. The ſuſpicion of this would probably be a canker, that would continually corrode the vitals of the bank, and would be moſt likely to prove fatal in thoſe ſituations, in which the public good would require that they ſhould be moſt ſound and vigorous. It would indeed be little leſs than a miracle, ſhould the credit of the bank be at the diſpoſal of the government, if in a long ſeries of time, there was not experienced a calamitous abuſe of it. It is true, that it would be the real intereſt of the government not to abuſe it; it's genuine policy to huſband and cheriſh it with the moſt guarded circumſpection, as an ineſtimable treaſure. But what government ever uniformly conſulted it's true intereſts, in oppoſition to the temptations of momentary exigencies? What nation was ever bleſſed with a conſtant ſucceſſion of upright and wiſe adminiſtrators?

The keen, ſteady, and, as it were, magnetic ſenſe of their own intereſt as proprietors, in the directors of a bank, pointing invariably to it's true pole, the proſperity of the inſtitution, is the only ſecurity that can always be relied upon for a careful and prudent adminiſtration. It is therefore the only baſis on which an enlightened, unqualified and permanent confidence can be expected to be erected and maintained.

The precedents of the banks eſtabliſhed in ſeveral cities of Europe, Amſterdam, Hamburgh and others, may ſeem to militate againſt this poſition. Without a preciſe knowledge of all the peculiarities of their reſpective conſtitutions, it is difficult to pronounce how far this may be the caſe. That of Amſterdam however, which we beſt know, is rather under a municipal than a governmental direction. Particular magiſtrates of

[*For the remainder ſee laſt Page.*]

Meſſrs. HANSON & BOND:

Gentlemen,

HAVING read in your paper of the 27th inſtant, an account of the trial of Negro Moſes before the County Court of Fairfax, on Saturday the 22d inſtant, in which ſuch parts of the evidence only as operated in favour of the priſoner are given to the public, and that, in many inſtances, moſt unfairly ſtated, I beg leave to ſubjoin the balance of the teſtimony given at the trial. If this publication were intended to impreſs on the minds of Maſters and Overſeers ſentiments of humanity towards their ſlaves, and to deter them from the improper exerciſe of their power, by a dread of the legal conſequences of it, a ſtory compoſed for the occaſion might have been as well fitted for the purpoſe, as the trial of Moſes. But, if the object were to encourage diſobedience in ſlaves, and to repreſs the proper exerciſe of power in their rulers, a fair diſcloſure of all the evidence would have added ſtrength to the example. I underſtand evidence to be that information which ſerves to ſatisfy the mind of the exiſtence of certain facts; and if any part of the truth is ſuppreſſed, or even falſe colourings uſed, the mind is miſled, and prevented from judging rightly upon the ſubject preſented to it. I was one of thoſe who felt, in common with others, the importance of the trial, and of the Court's deciſion upon the caſe: And my ſolicitude induced me to take ſuch a ſituation in the Court-Houſe as to enable me to hear diſtinctly the witneſſes; and I am not afraid of being contradicted when I give you the following account of it. It appeared that it was Mr. ALEXANDER's misfortune to own a number of ſlaves who were not only a dread to the neighbourhood, by their frequent depredations upon their property, but were remarkble for their inattention to his intereſt, and diſobedience to his orders. More maſters than ſlaves, the poſſeſſion of them was rather an evil than a benefit. This conduct in his Negroes, produced by long indulgence, required a cure, and pointed out the neceſſity of placing over them a man who would not only watch over their actions, but who had firmneſs enough to enforce obedience. For this purpoſe he employed WILLIAMS; and for ſome time afterwards, the conteſt for power between him and the ſlaves produced inſtances of ſeverity, which could not be avoided. A change, however, in their behaviour effected a correſpondent one in his treatment of them; and for ſome time paſt it was proved that he became more mild than he formerly had been. Moſes, who had a wife in Maryland, had always experienced his Maſter's indulgence, in ſo much as to have been allowed two days in every week to viſit her until the laſt year, when he remained altogether with his wife. His maſter, having occaſion for his ſervices, or perhaps apprehending that his continuance in Maryland might, by the laws of that State, endanger his property in this Slave, recalled him home a few days before the unfortunate killing happened. Moſes abſolutely refuſed to remain with his maſter, and declared, in the moſt peremptory terms, that he muſt return into Maryland. Perſuaſions were uſed, inſtead of ſeverity, in vain. He was even aſſured that, if he would ſtay at home, his wife ſhould be hired to live with him, and that the profits of her labour ſhould be at her own diſpoſal; and, moreover, if that would not be ſatisfactory, that he ſhould have two days in every week to viſit his wife, as uſual, and not have any connections with the overſeer. Theſe offers, dictated by humanity, were nevertheleſs refuſed, and nothing ſhort of his own terms would he accede to. It now became a queſtion of ſerious importance to his maſter, whether he ſhould yield to the will of his ſlave, and, by doing ſo, ſet an example of ſucceſsful diſobedience to the others in his poſſeſſion, (who had too often given proofs of their inclinations upon this ſubject) or whether he ſhould uſe coercive means to enforce ſubmiſſion. This conduct of Moſes, which in too many inſtances would have inflamed the paſſions of the maſter to acts of immediate, and perhaps of ſevere, correction, drew upon him milder treatment. It was thought adviſable, and indeed it appeared to be the only alternative left, to confine him for ſome time, until he could be brought to ſubmit. Fetters and hand-cuffs were provided, and placed upon his hands and legs, and he was committed to the care of the overſeer, to be kept at his houſe every night. On the evening before the killing happened, which was the fifth night of his confinement, he inſiſted that he could not walk from the dwelling-houſe to the overſeer's, and deſired his fellow-ſervants to get him a cart ready to carry him down. The overſeer, conſidering this as a piece of impertinence, (as Moſes had walked down and up with his fetters on before, and had acknowledged, when they were put on, that they felt quite eaſy) ſtruck him ſome blows over his clothes, conſiſting of two coats and a jacket, with a ſmall ſwitch with which he had been riding. It is true that his fellow-ſervants repreſented this chaſtiſement as ſevere, but Moſes confeſſed to one of the witneſſes that he did not hurt him. All the witneſſes who ſpoke of his confinement, concurred in declaring that he was treated with humanity during the whole time, having it in his power to lie down and ſleep with comfort, and more than enough to eat and drink whenever he inclined to do ſo. Whether he was really under any impreſſions of fear from any threats, which he pretends Williams had uſed, is at leaſt to be ſuſpected. Not a ſingle witneſs was called to prove it. It is true that when he was aſked why he had perpetrated ſuch a deed, he aſſigned this as an excuſe. But ſhall a man who has committed a crime, juſtify himſelf by an artful confeſſion of what could otherwiſe be proved, as in the preſent inſtance, and mix with it ſuch circumſtances as to make it no crime at all? This ſort of evidence is ſurely the leaſt of all to be depended upon, and even ſlight teſtimony from diſintereſted witneſſes is ſufficient to overthrow it. I doubt the truth of it; firſtly, becauſe it was in proof that a few hours before the killing happened, and whilſt the deceaſed was loading the gun with which he was ſhot, Moſes was leſs ſullen than uſual, ſmiled frequently, and appeared to be entirely at eaſe; ſecondly, Mrs. Williams heard no ſuch threats; and thirdly, if he had been impreſſed with ſuch fears, a ſenſe of his danger would certainly have induced him to have communicated them to his maſter's ſon, who was at the overſeer's, in Moſes's preſence, ſome ſhort time before he was killed. The priſoner had two or three times that evening ſent to his maſter for a large knife, which had been found upon him and taken away. He acknowledged that he laid awake whilſt the overſeer had gone out to ſhoot ducks, and after he returned took notice of the place where he put his gun. What happened afterwards is related in the ſtatement to which I allude; and though not mentioned as being the confeſſion of the priſoner and ſupported by no other proof, it is neceſſary now to inform the public of it: To encounter this weakeſt of all evidence, Mrs. Williams proved upon oath, that the deceaſed and herſelf were awaked by hearing of Moſes crying out, with a very loud voice, "that he was going." The deceaſed then jumped from his bed and ran precipitately out of doors, and in a moment the gun was diſcharged. She, hearing the deceaſed cry out "Lord have mercy upon me," followed him, and, diſcovering her huſband lying upon his face, about ten ſteps from the houſe, went up to him, and, in the agony of grief, was about to turn him, when Moſes, who was exulting in what he had done, and frequently declaring that he had killed him "dead enough," damned her, and threatened to ſerve her in the ſame manner. She then left the corpſe, and ran ſcreaming to the houſe, and was met by the Negroes who were hurrying down to the place. To take off the weight of Mrs. Williams's teſtimony, a lady of character was examined, who declared that from her houſe (diſtant at leaſt half a mile, with a creek between, and ſteep banks on each ſide, particularly on that where Williams's houſe ſtood) ſhe heard a female voice, which ſhe was ſure was Mrs. Williams's, ſay that ſhe was awaked by the report of the gun. Mrs. Williams bears a very fair character; and whether ſuch uncertain teſtimony as this ought to impeach her credibility, is left to the judgment of thoſe who ſhall read this ſtatement. The diſtance and ſituation of the two places, the noiſe and confuſion that prevailed, the indiſcriminate ſound of male and female voices, entitle this evidence to little weight; particularly when it was a fact that the Negroes *were* awaked by the noiſe of the gun, and moſt probably many of them were then declaring it. But what moſt ſerves to prove the conſiſtency of Mrs. William's teſtimony is, that when Mr. Alexander went down ſhe gave exactly the ſame account which ſhe delivered upon oath at the trial. Before I finiſh this ſtatement of the evidence, allow me to reſcue the memory of the deceaſed from a charge formed and circulated by Negroes only, and diſproved at the trial of Moſes by unimpeached teſtimony; I mean the death of Bob, alluded to in the publication, and moſt uncharitably attributed to Williams. It appeared in evidence that Williams had given him twenty laſhes, with a ſwitch, eight days before his death, and that when perſons of character were called in after his death, to view him in conſequence of the above report, only one mark of a whip or ſwitch appeared, and that a ſlight one, on his thigh, the reſt of his ſkin being entirely ſmooth and unſcarred. It was proved that Bob's diſorder was a rupture and the want of a paſſage for many days; the former of which he had been long afflicted with, and had encreaſed it by expoſing himſelf, in old clothes, one whole winter, in a cave at Boyd's-Hole, during a cauſeleſs and an unprovoked elopement; that an able phyſician attended him, and declared theſe to be the cauſes of his death. Whether the acquittal of the priſoner, even upon his own confeſſion, was agreeable to law or not, is a queſtion of great magnitude to this country. I deplore as much as any one of my fellow-countrymen the ſituation of that unhappy claſs of men, as well as the political miſchief which ſlavery begets. But if it muſt exiſt, from the innumerable difficulties which forbid emancipation, it is abſolutely neceſſary, for their own happineſs, as well as for the ſafety and tranquility of ſociety, that the power of controuling, and of enforcing ſubmiſſion, ſhould be veſted in their maſters. If indeed the law of nature is the only rule of their conduct, that law will tell them that they are as free as thoſe who hold them in bondage; and upon this principle I admit that Moſes had a right to tell his maſter that he would not ſubmit to his power, but go whitherſoever he ſaw the faireſt proſpect of obtaining happineſs—In this caſe I alſo admit, that his confinement was illegal, and that he had a right to extricate himſelf; but, even admitting a poſition ſo extravagant, I inſiſt that, by the laws of this land, he committed murder when he took away the life of Williams. His hatred of Williams, the ſuppoſed murderer of his brother, appearing by his own confeſſion—his frequent applications for his knife the evening before he killed Williams, for which he could have no proper uſe—his lying awake during the time the deceaſed was gone out to ſhoot—watching his return, and the place where he depoſited his gun—his calling up the overſeer to let him know he was going, and his immediate perpetration of the deed, ſo ſoon as he had decoyed him out of doors, exhibit at once ſuch unequivocal and ſuch convincing proofs of premeditated malice, that the moſt philanthropic mind, however inclining to the ſide of mercy, has not a doubt to reſt upon. I ſay that if Moſes had been a white man, his crime was murder; but being a ſlave, he is infinitely more criminal by the laws of this land. By his own confeſſion he killed the overſeer whilſt he was attempting to reſtrain him from running off; and if the overſeer, as the ſervant of the maſter, had a right to execute this power, Moſes had no right to reſiſt, much leſs to kill, him. That tenderneſs which the laws have for the weakneſs of human nature, and which induces them to inflict a milder puniſhment for a killing committed in the heat of paſſion, can only extend to equals. It cannot apply to maſter and ſlave; becauſe, from the nature of their relative ſituation to each other, we muſt either deny the power of the former to correct the latter; or, if that power be admitted, the exerciſe of it in every inſtance would neceſſarily excite paſſion in the ſlave, and conſequently excuſe him from the crime of murder, if death ſhould be the conſequence of his reſiſtance. But ſpeculative reaſoning on this ſubject is out of the queſtion. Our law has left no doubt on it. Manſlaughter of a ſlave by a ſlave is within clergy; which is not the caſe, if a white man be killed by a ſlave. Is it not ſtrange that it ſhould be more criminal in a ſlave to ſtrike, than to kill, a white man? In the firſt caſe, he ſhall be puniſhed with thirty laſhes, whatever may be his provocation; but in the latter, he ſtands juſtified. If I heard the arguments of the priſoner's counſel diſtinctly, and underſtood them, they diſclaimed the idea of fixing the name of manſlaughter to this deed, but juſtified it. Moſes, it was contended, was but in the exerciſe of thoſe rights which were retained. Theſe rights I underſtood to be all which exiſt in a ſtate of nature; becauſe it was contended that, being no parties to the ſocial compact, ſlaves were the ſubjects of no law but that of nature. It was ſtrongly inſiſted that, though a white man ſhall not ſpill the blood of his fellow-man, even for the ſecurity of his own being, until he has demonſtrated a real tenderneſs of ſhedding his brother's blood by retreating as far as he can with ſafety—this was not part of the law of nature, and therefore not applicable to ſlaves. This was the doctrine urged in a court of juſtice, by able counſel, with all the weight which eloquence could give it, to a numerous audience of both freemen and ſlaves. It was ſanctioned by the judgment of the court, and that judgment applauded by the audience, by the moſt lively expreſſions of joy. Let me only obſerve that four magiſtrates conſidered him as guilty of murder. I join moſt heartily in wiſhing that this trial may produce the moſt happy conſequences to that unhappy claſs of men, by impreſſing upon the minds and hearts of their maſters and overlookers, ſentiments and feelings of benevolence towards them; but I fear that the conſequences of that trial will be very different from what we all wiſh. If it ſhould encourage diſobedience in thoſe who muſt ſubmit, ſo long as they continue ſlaves; if they are taught to believe that they have a right to defend themſelves from the reſtraints which their ſituations have hitherto ſubjected them to, and even to kill the man who ſhall offer to controul them, I greatly fear, that the trial of Moſes will be an æra from whence to date the riſe of many ſerious and awful conſequences to the defenceleſs individuals of this country. That they feel a conſtant ſtruggle to get free, cannot be doubted: That they have power to effect much, is equally true. They only require to be encouraged.

A BYE-STANDER.

January 31, 1791.

NEW-YORK, Jan. 24.

MILITARY EXEMPTIONS.

The memorial to Congreſs, praying an exemption from military duty, for apprentices and other minors, had been ſigned by 1729 *perſons in nine of the wards of Philadelphia, on Tueſday laſt.*

The wiſe Julian aboliſhed, by repeated edicts, the unjuſt and pernicious exemptions, which had withdrawn ſo many idle citizens from the ſervice of their country; and, by impoſing an equal diſtribution of public duties, he reſtored the ſtrength, the ſplendor and the ſoul of the expiring cities of the empire.

The exempting article, in the militia bill, before Congreſs, ſays a Correſpondent, will be a prolific article to the people called Quakers, in this country. Many already, who had never made up their mouths to Thee *and* Thou, *begin to* tu toi—*There can be no doubt but the greater part of the European Friends will ſoon croſs the great pond, to enjoy the bleſſings of a good government and laws at the expenſe of others—entirely free from carrying arms, or paying an equivalent! Members of Congreſs, all legiſlators, civil magiſtrates, office holders and clerks—all miniſters, ſchoolmaſters, &c muſt be exempted from this duty, and equivalent! Apprentices, certainly, of all denominations, muſt alſo enjoy this exemption, or every ſpecies of manufacture muſt be at an end! and if their maſters go to war, what can they do!—Who will give us beef and mutton if the butchers go to war! Who will give us corn, potatoes, forage, if the farmers go to war! Horrible dilemma! what muſt be done, or how defend our country!*

It is ſaid, the women in Philadelphia intend to petition Congreſs to reverſe the ſcheme hitherto invariably purſued—to turn puſillanimous man into kitchen ſwabs, and waſhers of their linen, and take the field of Mars themſelves! It is expected, however, that this plan will not ſucceed.—What muſt then be done?——Ah! I have it,—we muſt raiſe a ſtanding army—and we muſt fill the Columbian camp with mercenary troops hired from foreign nations! we muſt enliſt every ſtrolling vagabond and ſend him there—they may fight our battles, while we loll upon the lap of eaſe—thoſe would be obedient ſoldiers—or open tools for grand purpoſes—while the proprietors of our ſoil, the happy ſons of Columbia, wallow in perfect ſecurity.

I recollect the day, ſays a correſpondent, when the cry was, "your property is invaded, your country is beſieged, turn out; to arms; or no protection!" How ridiculous does this ſound? how harſh, in theſe refined days; an old, backneyed, worn out, republican idea! The firſt of the community then took the field; now the firelock would bruiſe the delicate fingers—hire a Turk!

RICHMOND, *February* 3.

Mr. PRINTER,

SIR,

IT is remarkable that ſome of the greateſt Philoſophers were not only religious in their lives and manners, but defenders of religion in their writings; ſuch were Bacon, Newton, Locke, Addiſon, Lyttleton, Weſt, Johnſon, Beattie, Neckar, and others. I entertain a due reſpect for the ingenuity and abilities of many among the modern Philoſophers, but I do not conceive that they are better qualified, either by nature or by art, than thoſe above mentioned.

Theſe great men carried their improvements to a moſt admirable height; but they never loſt ſight of human weakneſs, of their dependence upon God, of the true Goſpel Philoſophy, and of that love and charity which conſtitutes the trueſt wiſdom, and moſt ſubſtantial happineſs in the preſent ſtate: I would rather follow the examples of ſuch men than obtain the applauſe of every pretending ſceptic, who dictates blaſphemous witticiſms in the ſchool of Voltaire.

No philoſophy is valuable which does not tend to render it's profeſſor rationally and permanently happy. The knowledge of revealed religion can alone effect this deſirable purpoſe. All other wiſdom originates in the pride of man, and will prove his weakneſs by terminating in his miſery. This ſoothes and calms the boſom under all the diſquietudes of a turbulent life; and, when the clouds of adverſity, ſickneſs or death impend, points out a ſerene ſky. This is the *panacea* in moral philoſophy, the remedy for all diſorders of the mind. This is the panoply that ſhields the wearers from every enemy. Life, without the comforts of the Chriſtian Philoſophy, is a ſtate of wretchedneſs; but, with them, it anticipates the enjoyments of that ſtate where alone there is perfect permanent happineſs.

Happy thoſe who *feel* the truth of this doctrine at an early period of life. The ſooner they begin to live to God, the ſooner they begin to taſte of real felicity. All elſe is ſhadowy, and vaniſhes into nothing, at the very moment of fancied acquiſition.

But does this happineſs fall into our poſſeſſion without any efforts on our own parts? Certainly not. Much is to be done by us, and the earlier we begin in this work, as in all others, the better we ſhall ſucceed, and the ſooner be happy. It is the grand purpoſe of our exiſtence, and ought to be the firſt and laſt labour of our lives. Habitual prayer and ſerious reading and reflection are the moſt efficacious means of giving the mind a devotional propenſity.

The pleaſures of religion are the greateſt of which our nature is capable. They are acknowledged to be ſo by all who have felt them in their purity. Thoſe, indeed, who have formed wrong notions of religion, or who have been educated and introduced into life without conſidering it at all, attribute all ſuch aſſertions to hypocriſy or enthuſiaſm. *Their reaſon is their God*; and they worſhip it with all the attachment of real adoration. Unhappy, ſhort-ſighted mortals! the time will come, when ye will wiſh you had depended leſs on yourſelves and more upon him who is mighty to ſave; before whom, the wiſdom of the moſt arrogant and moſt learned philoſopher is no more than miſerable imbecility!

To know one's ſelf was once deemed the higheſt wiſdom: And what can a man learn with more certainty from the knowledge of himſelf, than that he is a poor dependent creature; and, with all his confidence in the beſt natural abilities, improved by the beſt cultivation, unable fully to comprehend the common objects he ſees; unable to ſecure his happineſs, or his conſiſtency, a ſingle hour; and therefore then only capable of permanent tranquillity, when he throws himſelf into the arms of Omnipotence, and reſts his hope, with becoming confidence, on the mercy of his God?

V. K.

ALEXANDRIA, Feb. 10.

HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES OF THE *UNITED STATES.*

TUESDAY, *February* 1.

The Bank Bill was read the third time: A motion by Mr. Smith, (S. C.) for a re-commitment, occaſioned a debate, which continued till near 3 o'clock; and was finally determined in the negative. The Ayes and Noes being as follows:

AYES.

Meſſrs. Aſhe, Baldwin, Bloodworth, Bourne, Brown, Burke, Carroll, Contee, Gale, Grout, Giles, Jackſon, Lee, Madiſon, Matthews, Moore, Parker, Smith, (M.) Smith, (S. C.) Stone, Tucker, White, Williamſon.—23.

NOES.

Meſſrs. Ames, Benſon, Boudinot, Cadwallader, Clymer, Fitzſimons, Floyd, Foſter, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Hartley, Hathorne, Heiſter, Huntington, Lawrence, Leonard, Livermore, Muhlenberg, Partridge, Renſſelaer, Schureman, Scott, Seney, Sherman, Sylveſter, Sinnickſon, Steele, Sturges, Thatcher, Trumbull, Vining, Wadſworth, Wynkoop.—34.

The Members choſen to ſerve in the Corporation of this Town for the enſuing Year, are as follows: Meſſrs. *Jeſſe Taylor, Philip Mar-*

Keller, Dennis Ramsay, Nitholas Hunnah, Thomas Porter, Olney Winsor, Benjamin Shreve, Peter Wise, William Paton, William Hunter, Jun. *John Murray, and William Hunter.*

Capt. GREENWAY's MARINE LIST.

ARRIVED.

Snow Olivia, Bousli, Norfolk.
Schooner John, Cochran, Jamaica.

SAILED.

Schooner Vermont, Green, West Indies.
Brig Cincinnatus, Cox, Havre-de-Grace.

Mr. Moore, the Post-Rider from this Town to Winchester, having received a severe Cut in one of his Feet by an Axe, has been unable for several Weeks to perform his usual Tour. On account of that accident, the Printers hope their Subscribers will excuse the irregular delivery of their Papers.

☞ *"Observations on the Variation of the Compass," in our next.*

The following observations upon AGRICULTURE, *made to* "The Alexandria Society for the Promotion of useful Knowledge," *by Mr.* RUSSEL GOODRICH, *are presented to the Public by the Committee of Correspondence.*

Feb. 9, 1791.

THE existence of mankind depends on Agriculture. From thence they expect their daily bread. Of various improvements is Agriculture capable. In some parts of this State these improvements are much neglected. The Virginia Planter pursues a beaten tract. A better path, the discovery of modern times, is unfrequented.

Tobacco has long been cultivated with success. It has been the staple of commerce. It rewarded richly the labour of the *Planter*. It was a source of wealth to the Merchant. It benefited the country. The culture of Wheat, as well as Tobacco, is very practicable. Better wheat can no where be produced. It agrees both with the soil, and with the climate. Tobacco and wheat are different in their nature. They require different treatment. If the one be attended to, the other is generally neglected. The raising of corn interferes less with the raising of tobacco: It is therefore preferred by the Planter. From July to October, the Planter's labour draws to a point—all his diligence is necessary—the least inattention may blast his hopes. *Now* also is the Farmer fully employed. He gathers, prepares, or sows his wheat. If tobacco be attended to, wheat is overlooked: Or, if wheat receives proper attention, tobacco is neglected. The one or the other must be sacrificed. When a *few* exceptions are made, you will not see, through the whole State, enchanting meadows, grazing flocks, crops of various grains, on that plantation where tobacco is the great object: So difficult is it for the Planter and the Farmer to unite in one character. The cultivation of *wheat* admits of *farming* in it's highest perfection, and is inseparable from it. Pennsylvania discovers the Farmer in all his glory; South-Carolina the Planter: But in none of the States, is the attention, at the same time, directed both to farming and planting, with any degree of success. If wheat, or tobacco must be given up, which must be given up, by the proprietor who wishes to turn his lands to the greatest advantage?

The original appropriation of lands in this State is the parent of slavery; the lands have worn the same aspect for two centuries past: And can any one say that the aspect shall not be the same for two centuries to come? The possession of large tracts of land by one person is as unfavourable to agriculture, as to population. Lands, without persons to improve them, are useless. Freemen will never drudge merely for another's advantage; slaves must therefore be procured. Whilst things are thus circumstanced, the continuance of slavery is as necessary as it's first introduction.

A slave acts without motives: His movements are all mechanical. The lash teaches him his task as it teaches the horse: To the noble impulse of emulation his depressed circumstances render him a stranger. It is a great effort of the human powers to apply with any degree of success to a variety of business: but the weakest efforts, which have one object only uniformly in view, commonly succeed.

The efforts of a slave are always weak. He languishes through oppression. What *one freeman* can easily perform, when he reaps the fruit of his own industry, *six slaves* can with difficulty be compelled to accomplish. If slaves must be beneficial, confine them to one thing. It becomes a habit. In spite of their Indolence something is done. The eye also instantly perceives whether they have been idle or industrious. On this account the culture of Tobacco has been pursued. In farming there is a greater variety. Slaves will never give the attention necessary for farmers. The opportunity also of pilfering is increased. It cannot so easily be known what work is performed. The slave is always induced from his situation to be negligent and dishonest. Slaves are by no means fit to fill so honourable and useful a class of citizens as that which Farmers compose. Were the labourers in Virginia white men, not blacks, freemen, not slaves, the cultivation of Tobacco would give way to the cultivation of Wheat: Farming in all it's branches would flourish.

Tobacco has long been an article of chief moment in commerce. It was a commerce Britain was much interested to encourage. It enriched her revenue, fifty or sixty pounds a hogshead was no trifling consideration. In Europe at present Tobacco is a mere drug. The supply exceeds the demand. From this circumstance both the Planter and Merchant find great reason to complain. The culture of Tobacco in Virginia seems to be on the decline. She produced a much greater quantity before the war than since. But whilst she makes this a principal object, farming will languish; slavery be necessary; Improvements neglected: But let our Planters become Farmers,—it would be a memorable æra; —our fields, touched with a magic wand, would blossom;—our slaves become freemen;—our improvements excite universal attention.

On the death of persons who are struck with lightning: In a letter from Dr. Franklin to M. Dubourg, the French translator of his works.

YOUR observations on the causes of death, and the experiments which you propose for recalling to life those who appear to be killed by lightning, demonstrate equally your sagacity and humanity. It appears that the doctrines of life and death, in general, are yet but little understood.

A toad, buried in sand, will live, it is said, until the sand becomes petrified; and then, being inclosed in the stone, it may still live, for we know not how many ages. The facts which are cited in support of this opinion, are too numerous and too circumstantial, not to deserve a certain degree of credit. As we are accustomed to see all the animals, with which we are acquainted, eat and drink, it appears to us difficult to conceive, how a toad can be supported in such a dungeon; but if we reflect, that the necessity of nourishment which animals experience in their ordinary state, proceeds from the continual waste of their substance by perspiration, it will appear less incredible, that some animals, in a torpid state, perspiring less because they use no exercise, should have less need of aliment: and that others, which are covered with scales or shells, which stop perspiration, such as land and sea turtles, serpents, and some species of fish, should be able to subsist a considerable time without any nourishment whatever. A plant, with it's flowers, fades and dies immediately, if exposed to the air, without having it's roots immersed in a humid soil, from which it may draw a sufficient quantity of moisture, to supply that which exhales from it's substance, and is carried off continually by the air. Perhaps, however, if it were buried in quicksilver, it might preserve, for a considerable space of time, it's vegetable life, it's smell and colour. If this be the case, it might prove a commodious method of transporting, from distant countries, those delicate plants, which are unable to sustain the inclemency of the weather at sea, and which require particular care and attention.—I have seen an instance of common flies preserved in a manner somewhat similar. They had been drowned in Madeira wine, apparently about the time when it was bottled in Virginia, to be sent hither [to London.] At the opening of one of the bottles, at the house of a friend where I was, three drowned flies fell into the first glass which was filled. Having heard it remarked, that drowned flies were capable of being revived by the rays of the sun, I proposed making the experiment upon these. They were, therefore, exposed to the sun upon a sieve, which had been employed to strain them out of the wine. In less than three hours, two of them began by degrees to recover life. They commenced by some convulsive motions in the thighs: And at length, they raised themselves upon their legs; wiped their eyes with their fore feet; beat and brushed their wings with their hind feet; and soon began to fly, finding themselves in old England, without knowing how they came hither. The third continued lifeless until sunset, when, losing all hopes of him, he was thrown away.

I wish it were possible, from this instance, to invent a method of embalming drowned persons, in such a manner that they might be recalled to life at any period however distant. For having a very ardent desire to see and observe the state of America an hundred years hence, I should prefer to an ordinary death the being immersed in a cask of Madeira wine, with a few friends, until that time, then to be recalled to life, by the solar warmth of my dear country! But since in all probability we live in an age too early and too near the infancy of science, to hope to see such an art brought, in our time, to it's perfection, I must for the present content myself with the treat, which you are so kind as to promise me, of the resurrection of a fowl or turkey cock.

TICKETS

(Without which no Gentleman can be admitted)

For the BALL on the BIRTH-NIGHT of the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, may be had of either of the Subscribers.

Samuel Hanson, of Sam.
John Fitzgerald,
George Deneale,
Elisha C. Dick, } Managers.
John C. Hunter,
Joshua Merryman,

N. B. The Company of those Ladies in Maryland, to whom Tickets of Invitation to the Balls for this Season were sent, is requested.

Alexandria, February 10, 1791.

☞ *WANTED,*

A Tutor of a good moral character capable of teaching the Classics, and who can also teach Arithmetic and Writing. The School not to exceed eight Scholars, and to be ready to begin about the 15th of next month. Such a person may meet with a genteel Salary, by applying to

JOHN TURBERVILLE.

Westmoreland County, near the head of Nomany River, Feb. 8, 1791.

ALEXANDRIA STREET-LOTTERY:

Authorised by an Act of Assembly to raise Money to PAVE the STREETS of the Town.

Scheme.

FIRST CLASS.

			Dols.		*Dols.*
1	Prize	of	500	is	500
2			100	are	200
5			50		250
10			20		200
22			10		220
500			3		1500
			Last drawn Blank,		130
2500			2 Dols. to be paid in Tickets of 2d Class,		5000
340	Prizes,				8000
6960	Blanks, at 1 Dol. to be paid in Tickets of the 4th Class, —Deduction,				2000
10,000	Tickets at 1 Dol. each,				10,000

SECOND CLASS.

			Dols.		*Dols.*
1	Prize	of	1000	is	1000
2			300	are	600
3			100		300
6			50		300
10			30		300
20			20		400
50			10		500
100			6		600
500			4		2000
			Last drawn Blank,		500
2000			3 Dols. to be paid in Tickets of 3d Class,		6000
2692	Prizes,				12,500
5308	Blanks.—Deduction,				3500
8000	Tickets at 2 Dols. each,				16,000

THIRD CLASS.

			Dols.		*Dols.*
1	Prize	of	1500	is	1500
1			1000		1000
1			500		500
5			100	are	500
8			50		400
12			20		240
30			10		300
40			8		320
80			6		480
500			5		2500
			Last drawn Blank,		500
2565			4 Dols. to be paid in Tickets of 4th Class,		10,269
8243	Prizes,				18,500
4757	Blanks.—Deduction,				5500
8000	Tickets at 3 Dols. each,				24,000

FOURTH CLASS.

			Dols.		*Dols.*
1	Prize	of	3000	is	3000
1			1000		1000
2			500	are	1000
3			200		600
16			100		1600
20			50		1000
25			30		750
50			20		1000
102			8		816
2379			6		14274
			Last drawn Blank,		1000
2599	Prizes,				26,040
5401	Blanks.—Deduction,				5960
8000	Tickets, at 4 Dollars, are				32,000

Raised by the 1st Class,		2000
	2d,	3500
	3d,	5500
	4th,	5960
		16960
Deduct for Blanks in 1st Class,		6960
Remains for Paving the Streets,		10,000

Which deduction is less than 12½ per cent.

A List of Prizes drawn in each Class, will be published, and such of them as are not demanded within four Months after publication, will be appropriated to the purposes intended by the Lottery.

The Managers present this SCHEME to the PUBLIC, and from the favourable prospects of advantage it holds forth to adventurers, as well as the general benefit that will be derived from the appropriation of the Money to the useful and necessary purpose of Paving the Streets, they flatter themselves that it will meet with general encouragement and approbation.

The First Class is so calculated, that the purchasers run no risque, as the Blanks will be received for Tickets in the fourth Class at their cost; through the whole of the Lottery, there are less than two Blanks to a Prize, and the deduction not 12½ per cent.

On a consideration of these circumstances, and also of the general accommodation that every person residing in or visiting the Town will receive from the Streets being paved, the Managers hope and expect they will be able to dispose of the Tickets of the First Class time enough to enable them to commence drawing on the fourth Monday in June next, at farthest. Should they be able to make sale of the Tickets sooner, the drawing will commence at an earlier day; of which notice will be given. The Managers pledge themselves to the Public for the punctual payment of all Prizes that may be drawn.

The managers of the former Lottery, for raising Money to be applied to the same purpose, having withdrawn their Scheme, from an opinion that the one now offered will be productive of more advantage to adventurers, as well as to the general object in view; the Managers of this Lottery therefore hope that those who have purchased Tickets in the former one will be equally desirous of forwarding the present, and that they may direct the Managers from whom they purchased, to vest at least as much Money in Tickets in this Lottery.

Josiah Watson, *William Hodgson,*
John Potts, Jun. *Olney Winsor,*
Jonathan Swift, *William Brown.*

Alexandria, February 9. 1791.

Ten Hogsheads of

Muscovado Sugars,

Of the first Quality,
And a CARGO of choice

Barbados Rum,

Lately imported, and to be sold on reasonable Terms, by

HARTSHORNE & DONALDSON,

Who have also on Hand,

MANUFACTURED

Plaster of Paris,

Deliverable either here, or at W. HARTSHORNE's Mill.

Alexandria, Feb. 10, 1791.

Agreeable to an act of Assembly for that purpose, WILL BE SOLD to the highest bidder, on Friday the 25th of February next, if fair, otherwise the next fair day, at the Eastern Branch Ferry,

A number of healthy country-born NEGROES, of different ages and sexes:——*Also STOCK of different kinds, and HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE. Bonds with approved security must be given, and upon the punctual payment of interest annually, three years credit will be allowed the purchasers for all sums above five pounds; but for all sums under five pounds, ready money will be expected.*

ANTHONY ADDISON,
OVERTON CARR, } *Trustees for*
HENRY A. CALLIS, *a Minor.*

Prince-George's County, Maryland, February 8, 1791.

☞ *At the same time and place will be sold, for ready-money only, a STILL of the first quality, containing about sixty or seventy gallons.*

FOR SALE, ON CREDIT,

ONE HUNDRED and FIFTY VIRGINIA-BORN SLAVES. The Sale will commence, by way of PUBLIC AUCTION, at GLOUCESTER COURT HOUSE, on the SECOND MONDAY in MARCH next, if fair, otherwise the next fair day.—These Slaves, (belonging to the estates of SIR JOHN PEYTON and JOHN DIXON, deceased, late Sheriffs of the county of Gloucester, and others their deputies and securities) will be sold under an act of the late session of the General Assembly, entitled. "*An Act for the better securing debts within mentioned, due and owing to the Commonwealth.*"—Credit will be given until the 10th day of April 1792, the purchasers giving bonds with approved security, bearing interest, and to be proceeded upon as that act directs; payable in tobacco or interest warrants at the same rates they were receivable for taxes in the years 1782, 1783, and 1784; or in any public securities, indents or warrants for interest issued or to be issued, either by the United States or this state, at such rates as the Governor and Council may direct.

PHLIP TABB,
JAMES BOCKER,
ARMISTEAD SMITH, } *Commissioners.*
JAMES BAYTOP,

Gloucester County, January 15, 1791.

MEMORANDUM.—For the better information of the purchasers, a gentleman who is acquainted with the terms of the above mentioned sale, requests us to add—that he understands that by the laws referred to, and under the act of the late session of the General Assembly, entitled "*An Act providing for the support of Government, and for payment of the public debt,*"—Inspected crop tobacco will be received in discharge of the bonds to be given for the above-mentioned sales, at the rates from 26*s* to 28*s*. the hundred, and interest warrants and warrants on the contingent fund, issued by the Auditor of Virginia, at Twenty Shillings on the Pound.

4w. THE *PRINTERS.*

Bladensburg, Feb. 1, 1791.

Four Dollars Reward.

RAN AWAY from Bladensburg, the 30th of January, *an Irish Servant Lad,* named EDWARD PENDERGAST, about 18 years of age, 5 feet 9 or 4 inches high, has black hair, dark eyes, a down look, and somewhat round-shouldered; he has a tooth cut in the front of his mouth in the upper jaw; had on and took with him a ragged coat, no buttons on the collar, 2 holes worked with thread, a pair of half-worn, twilled blue cloth trousers, a pair of light blue stockings, one pair of country-made shoes, one pair of plated buckles, middling large, a Dutch cap, which he strove to change, a new jacket made round, with buttons on the sleeves, of dark gray cloth. It is probable he may change his cloaths.—Whoever will deliver the above-named Servant Lad to the subscriber, in Bladensburg, shall have the above Reward.

RICHARD JONES.

N. B. The same Lad ran away in Oct. 1788. All Masters of Vessels are hereby forewarned carrying off said Servant under penalty of the law.

☞ A Variety of BLANKS to be had at the Printing-Office.

the city, not officers of the republic, have the management of it. It is alſo a bank of depoſit, not of loan, or circulation; conſequently leſs liable to abuſe, as well as leſs uſeful. It's general buſineſs conſiſts in receiving money for ſafe-keeping, which if not called for within a certain time, becomes a part of it's ſtock, and irreclaimable: But a credit is given for it on the books of the bank, which being transferable, anſwers all the purpoſes of money.

The directors being magiſtrates of the city, and the ſtockholders in general it's moſt influential citizens, it is evident, that the principle of private intereſt muſt be prevalent in the management of the bank. And it is equally evident, that from the nature of it's operations, that principle is leſs eſſential to it, than to an inſtitution conſtituted with a view to the accommodation of the public and individuals, by direct loans and a paper circulation.

As far as may concern the aid of the bank, within the proper limits, a good government has nothing more to wiſh for than it will always poſſeſs; though the management be in the hands of private individuals. As the inſtitution, if rightly conſtituted, muſt depend for it's renovation from time to time on the pleaſure of the government, it will not be likely to feel a diſpoſition to render itſelf by it's conduct unworthy of public patronage. The government too, in the adminiſtration of it's finances, has it in it's power to reciprocate benefits to the bank, of not leſs importance than thoſe which the bank affords to the government, and which beſides are never unattended with an immediate and adequate compenſation. Independent of theſe more particular conſiderations, the natural weight and influence of a good government will always go far towards procuring a compliance with it's deſires; and as the directors will uſually be compoſed of ſome of the moſt diſcreet, reſpectable and well-informed citizens, it can hardly ever be difficult to make them ſenſible of the force of the inducements which ought to ſtimulate their exertions.

It will not follow from what has been ſaid, that the ſtate may not be the holder of a part of the ſtock of a bank, and conſequently a ſharer in the profits of it. It will only follow that it ought not to deſire any participation in the direction of it, and therefore ought not to own the whole or principal part of the ſtock; for if the maſs of their property ſhould belong to the public, and if the direction of it ſhould be in private hands, this would be to commit the intereſts of the ſtate to perſons not intereſted, or not enough intereſted in their proper management.

There is one thing, however, which the government owes to itſelf and to the community; at leaſt to all that part of it, who are not ſtockholders; which is to reſerve to itſelf a right of aſcertaining, as often as may be neceſſary, the ſtate of the bank, excluding however all pretenſions to controul. This right forms an article in the primitive conſtitution of the bank of North-America; and its propriety ſtands upon the cleareſt reaſons. If the paper of a bank is to be permitted to inſinuate itſelf into all the revenues and receipts of a country; if it is even ſubſtituted for gold and ſilver in all the tranſactions of buſineſs, it becomes in either view an ational concern of the firſt magnitude. As ſuch, the ordinary rules of prudence require, that the government ſhould poſſeſs the means of aſcertaining, whenever it thinks fit, that ſo delicate a truſt is executed with fidelity and care. A right of this nature is not only deſirable as it reſpects the government; but it ought to be equally ſo to all thoſe concerned in the inſtitution; as an additional title to public and private confidence; and as a thing which can only be formidable to practices that imply miſmanagement. The preſumption muſt always be, that the characters who would be entruſted with the exerciſe of this right on behalf of the government, will not be deficient in the diſcretion which it may require; at leaſt the admitting of this preſumption cannot be deemed too great a return of confidence for that very large portion of it which the government is required to place in the bank.

Abandoning therefore ideas, which, however agreeable or deſirable, are neither practicable nor ſafe; the following plan for the conſtitution of a National Bank, is reſpectfully ſubmitted to the conſideration of the houſe.

I. The capital ſtock of the bank ſhall not exceed ten millions of dollars, divided into twenty-five thouſand ſhares, each ſhare being four hundred dollars; to raiſe which ſum, ſubſcriptions ſhall be opened on the firſt Monday of April next, and ſhall continue open until the whole ſhall be ſubſcribed. Bodies politic as well as individuals may ſubſcribe.

II. The amount of each ſhare ſhall be payable, one fourth in gold and ſilver coin, and three fourths in that part of the public debt, which according to the loan propoſed by the act making proviſion for the debt of the United States, ſhall bear an accruing intereſt at the time of payment of ſix per centum per annum.

III. The reſpective ſums ſubſcribed ſhall be payable in four equal parts, as well ſpecie as debt, in ſucceſſion, and at the diſtance of ſix calendar months from each other; the firſt payment to be made at the time of ſubſcription. If there ſhall be a failure in any ſubſequent payment, the party failing ſhall loſe the benefit of any dividend which may have accrued prior to the time for making ſuch payment, and during the delay of the ſame.

IV. The ſubſcribers to the bank, and their ſucceſſors, ſhall be incorporated; and ſhall ſo continue until the final redemption of that part of it's ſtock which ſhall conſiſt of the public debt.

V. The capacity of the corporation to hold real and perſonal eſtate, ſhall be limited to fifteen millions of dollars, including the amount of it's capital or original ſtock. The lands and tenements which it ſhall be permitted to hold, ſhall be only ſuch as ſhall be requiſite for the immediate accommodation of the inſtitution; and ſuch as ſhall have been bona fide mortgaged to it by way of ſecurity, or conveyed to it in ſatisfaction of debts previouſly contracted, in the uſual courſe of it's dealings, or purchaſed at ſales upon judgments which ſhall have been obtained for ſuch debts.

VI. The totality of the debts of the company, whether by bond, bill, note, or other contract (credits for depoſits excepted) ſhall never exceed the amount of it's capital ſtock. In caſe of exceſs, the directors, under whoſe adminiſtration it ſhall happen, ſhall be liable for it in their private or ſeparate capacities. Thoſe who may have diſſented may excuſe themſelves from this reſponſibility by immediately giving notice of the fact and their diſſent, to the Preſident of the United States, and to the ſtockholders, at a general meeting to be called by the preſident of the bank at their requeſt.

VII. The company may ſell or demiſe it's lands and tenements, or may ſell the whole or any part of the public debt, whereof it's ſtock ſhall conſiſt; but ſhall *trade* in nothing, except bills of exchange, gold and ſilver bullion, or in the ſale of goods pledged for money lent; Nor ſhall take more than at the rate of ſix per centum per annum, upon it's loans or diſcounts.

VIII. No loan ſhall be made by the bank, for the uſe or on account of the government of the United States, or of either of them, to an amount exceeding fifty thouſand dollars, or of any foreign prince or ſtate; unleſs previouſly authoriſed by a law of the United States.

IX. The ſtock of the bank ſhall be transferable according to ſuch rules as ſhall be inſtituted by the company in that behalf.

X. The affairs of the bank ſhall be under the management of twenty five directors, one of whom ſhall be the Preſident. And there ſhall be on the firſt Monday of January, in each year, a choice of directors, by plurality of the ſuffrages of the ſtockholders, to ſerve for a year. The directors, at their firſt meeting after each election, ſhall chuſe one of their number as Preſident.

XI. The number of votes to which each ſtockholder ſhall be entitled, ſhall be according to the number of ſhares he ſhall hold, in the proportions following, that is to ſay: For one ſhare, and not more than two ſhares, one vote: For every two ſhares above two, and not exceeding ten, one vote: For every four ſhares above ten, and not exceeding thirty, one vote: For every ſix ſhares above thirty, and not exceeding ſixty, one vote: For every eight ſhares above ſixty, and not exeeeding one hundred, one vote: And for every ten ſhares above one hundred, one vote: But no perſons, co-partnerſhip, or body politic, ſhall be entitled to a greater number than thirty votes. And after the firſt election, no ſhare or ſhares ſhall confer a right of ſuffrage, which ſhall not have been holden three calendar months previous to the day of election. Stockholders actually reſident within the United States, and none other, may vote in elections by proxy.

XII. Not more than three-fourths of the directors in office, excluſive of the Preſident, ſhall be eligible for the next ſucceeding year. But the director who ſhall be Preſident at the time of an election, may always be re-elected.

XIII. None but a ſtockholder, being a citizen of the United States, ſhall be eligible as a director.

XIV. Any number of the ſtockholders not leſs than ſixty, who together ſhall be proprietors of two hundred ſhares, or upwards, ſhall have power at any time to call a general meeting of the ſtockholders, for purpoſes relative to the inſtitution; giving at leaſt ſix weekes notice in two public gazettes of the place where the bank is kept, and ſpecifying in ſuch notice the ſubject of the meeting

XV. In caſe of the death, reſignation, abſence from the United States, or removal of a director by the ſtockholders, his place may be filled by a new choice for the remainder of the year.

XVI. No director ſhall be entitled to any emolument, unleſs the ſame ſhall have been allowed by the ſtockholders at a general meeting. The ſtockholders ſhall make ſuch compenſation to the preſident, for his extraordinary attendance at the bank, as ſhall appear to them reaſonable.

XVII. Not leſs than ſeven directors ſhall conſtitute a board for the tranſaction of buſineſs.

XVIII. Every caſhier, or treaſurer, before he enters on the duties of his office, ſhall be required to give bond, with two or more ſureties, to the ſatisfaction of the directors, in a ſum not leſs than twenty thouſand dollars, with condition for his good behaviour.

XIX. Half yearly dividends ſhall be made of ſo much of the profits of the bank, as ſhall appear to the directors adviſable. And once in every three years the directors ſhall lay before the ſtockholders, at a general meeting, for their information, an exact and particular ſtatement of the debts which ſhall have remained unpaid, after the expiration of the original credit, for a period of treble the term of that credit, and of the ſurplus of profit, if any, after deducting loſſes and dividends.

XX. The bills and notes of the bank originally made payable, or which ſhall have become payable on demand in gold or ſilver coin, ſhall be receiveable in all payments to the United States.

XXI. The officer at the head of the Treaſury Department of the United States, ſhall be furniſhed from time to time, as often as he may require, not exceeding once a week, with ſtatements of the amount of the capital ſtock of the bank, and of the debts due to the ſame, of the monies depoſited therein, of the notes in circulation, and of the caſh in hand; and ſhall have a right to inſpect ſuch general accounts in the books of the bank, as ſhall relate to the ſaid ſtatements; provided that this ſhall not be conſtrued to imply a right of inſpecting the account of any private individual or individuals with the bank.

XXII. No ſimilar inſtituion ſhall be eſtabliſhed by any future act of the United States, during the continuance of the one hereby propoſed to be eſtabliſhed.

XXIII. It ſhall be lawful for the directors of the bank to eſtabliſh offices, whereſoever they ſhall think fit, within the United States, for the purpoſes of diſcount and depoſit only, and upon the ſame terms, and in the ſame manner, as ſhall be practiſed at the bank, and commit the management of the ſaid offices, and the making of the ſaid diſcounts, either to agents ſpecially appointed by them, or to ſuch perſons as may be choſen by the ſtockholders reſiding at the place where any ſuch office ſhall be, under ſuch agreements, and ſubject to ſuch regulations, as they ſhall deem proper; not being contrary to law, or to the conſtitution of the bank.

XXIV. And laſtly. The Preſident of the United States ſhall be authoriſed to cauſe a ſubſcription to be made to the ſtock of the ſaid company, on behalf of the United States, to an amount not exceeding two millions of dollars, to be paid out of the monies which ſhall be borrowed by virtue of either of the acts, the one entitled, "an act making proviſion for the debt of the United States," and the other entitled, "an act making proviſion for the reduction of the public debt;" borrowing of the bank an equal ſum, to be applied to the purpoſes for which the ſaid monies ſhall have been procured, reimburſeable in ten years by equal annual inſtalments; or at any time ſooner, or in any greater proportions, that the government may think fit.

The reaſon for the ſeveral proviſions contained in the foregoing plan, have been ſo far anticipated, and will for the moſt part be ſo readily ſuggeſted by the nature of thoſe proviſions, that any comments, which need further be made, will be both few and conciſe.

The combination of a portion of the public debt in the formation of the capital, is the principal thing, of which an explanation is requiſite. The chief object of this is, to enable the creation of a capital ſufficiently large to be the baſis of an extenſive circulation, and an adequate ſecurity for it. As has been elſewhere remarked, the original plan of the bank of North-America contemplated a capital of ten millions of dollars, which is certainly not too broad a foundation for the extenſive operations to which a national bank is deſtined. But to collect ſuch a ſum in this country in gold and ſilver, into one depoſitory, may, without heſitation, be pronounced impracticable. Hence the neceſſity of an auxiliary, which the public debt at once preſents.

This part of the fund will be always ready to come in aid of the ſpecie: It will more and more command a ready ſale; and can therefore expeditiouſly be turned into coin, if an exigency of the bank ſhould at any time require it. This quality of prompt convertibility into coin, renders it an equivalent for that neceſſary agent of bank circulation; and diſtinguiſhes it from a fund in land, of which the ſale would generally be far leſs compendious, and at great diſadvantage. The quarter-yearly receipts of intereſt will alſo be an actual addition to the ſpecie fund during the intervals between them and the half yearly dividends of profits. The objection to combining land with ſpecie, reſulting from their not being generally in poſſeſſion of the ſame perſons, does not apply to the debt, which will always be found in conſiderable quantitiy among the monied and trading people.

The debt compoſing part of the capital, beſides it's collateral effect in enabling the bank to extend it's operations, and conſequently to enlarge it's profits, will produce a direct annual revenue of ſix per centum from the government, which will enter into the half-yearly dividends received by the ſtock-holders.

When the preſent price of the public debt is conſidered, and the effect which it's converſion into bank-ſtock, if incorporated with a ſpecie fund, would in all probability have to accelerate it's riſe to the proper point, it will eaſily be diſcovered, that the operation preſents in it's outſet a very conſiderable advantage to thoſe who may become ſubſcribers; and, from the influence which that riſe would have on the general maſs of the debt, a proportional benefit to all the public creditors, and, in a ſenſe, which has been more than once adverted to, to the community at large.

There is an important fact, which exemplifies the fitneſs of the public debt, for a bank fund, and which may ſerve to remove doubts in ſome minds on this point. It is this, that the bank of England in it's firſt erection reſted wholly on that foundation. The ſubſcribers to a loan to government of one million two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, were incorporated as a bank; of which the debt created by the loan and the intereſt upon it, were the ſole fund. The ſubſequent augmentations of it's capital, which now amounts to between eleven and twelve millions of pounds ſterling, have been of the ſame nature.

The confining of the right of the bank to contract debts to the amount of it's capital, is an important precaution, which is not to be found in the conſtitution of the bank of North-America, and which, while the funds conſiſt wholly of coin, would be a reſtriction attended with inconveniences, but wouldbe free from any, if the compoſition of it ſhould be ſuch as is now propoſed. The reſtriction exiſts in the eſtabliſhment of the bank of England, and as a ſource of ſecurity, is worthy of imitation. The conſequence of exceeding the limit there is, that each ſtockholder is liable for the exceſs, in proportion to his intereſt in the bank. When it is conſidered, that the directors owe their appointments to the choice of the ſtockholders, a reſponſibility of this kind, on the part of the latter, does not appear unreaſonable. But, on the other hand, it may be deemed a hardſhip upon thoſe who may have diſſented from the choice. And there are many among us, whom it might perhaps diſcourage from becoming concerned in the inſtitution. Theſe reaſons have induced the placing of the reſponſibility upon the directors, by whom the limit preſcribed ſhould be tranſgreſſed.

The interdiction of loans on account of the United States, or of any particular State, beyond the moderate ſum ſpecified, or of any foreign power, will ſerve as a barrier to executive encroachments, and to combinations inauſpicious to the ſafety, or contrary to the policy of the Union.

The limitation of the rate of intereſt is dictated by the conſideration, that different rates prevail in different parts of the Union; and as the operations of the bank may extend through the whole, ſome rule ſeems to be neceſſary. There is room for a queſtion, whether the limitation ought not rather to be to five, than to ſix per cent. as propoſed? It may with ſafety be taken for granted, that the former rate would yield an ample dividend; perhaps as much as the latter, by the extenſion which it would give to buſineſs. The natural effect of low intereſt is to increaſe trade and induſtry; becauſe undertakings of every kind can be proſecuted with greater advantage. This is a truth generally admitted; but it is requiſite to have analized the ſubject in all it's relations, to be able to form a juſt conception of the extent of that effect. Such an analyſis cannot but ſatisfy an intelligent mind, that the difference of one per cent. in the rate at which money may be had, is often capable of making an eſſential change for the better in the ſituation of any country or place.

Every thing therefore which tends to lower the rate of intereſt, is peculiarly worthy of the care of legiſlators. And though laws which violently ſink the legal rate of intereſt, greatly below the market leval, are not to be commended, becauſe they are not calculated to anſwer their aim; yet whatever has a tendency to effect a reduction, without violence to the natural courſe of things, ought to be attended to and purſued. Banks are among the means moſt proper to accompliſh this end; and the moderation of the rate at which their diſcounts are made, is a material ingredient towards it; with which their own intereſt, viewed on an enlarged and permanent ſcale, does not appear to claſh.

But as the moſt obvious ideas are apt to have greater force than thoſe which depend on complex and remote combinations, there would be danger, that the perſons whoſe funds muſt conſtitute the ſtock of the bank, would be diffident of the ſufficiency of the profits to be expected, if the rate of loans and diſcounts were to be placed below the point to which they have been accuſtomed; and might, on this account, be indiſpoſed to embarking in the plan. There is, it is true, one reflection, which in regard to men actively engaged in trade, ought to be a ſecurity againſt this danger; it is this—that the accommodations which they might derive in the way of their buſineſs, at a low rate, would more than indemnify them for any difference in the dividend; ſuppoſing even that ſome diminution of it were to be the conſequence. But upon the whole, the hazard of contrary reaſoning among the maſs of monied men, is a powerful argument againſt the experiment. The inſtitutions of the kind already exiſting, add to the difficulty of making it. Mature reflection, and a large capital, may, of themſelves, lead to the deſired end.

The laſt thing which requires any explanatory remark, is the authority propoſed to be given to the Preſident to ſubſcribe to the amount of two millions of dollars on account of the public. The main deſign of this is to enlarge the ſpecie fund of the bank, and to enable it to give a more early extenſion to it's operations. Though it is propoſed to borrow with one hand what is lent to the other; yet the diſburſement of what is borrowed, will be progreſſive, and bank notes may be thrown into circulation, inſtead of the gold and ſilver. Beſides, there is to be an annual reimburſement of a part of the ſum borrowed, which will finally operate as an actual inveſtment of ſo much ſpecie. In addition to the inducements to this meaſure, which reſult from the general intereſt of the government to enlarge the ſphere of the utility of the bank, there is this more particular conſideration, to wit, that as far as the dividend on the ſtock ſhall exceed the intereſt paid on the loan, there is a poſitive profit.

The Secretary begs leave to conclude, with this general obſervation—That if the Bank of North-America ſhall come forward with any propoſitions, which have for object the ingrafting upon that inſtitution the characteriſtics which ſhall appear to the legiſlature neceſſary to the due extent and ſafety of a national bank, there are, in his judgment, weighty inducements to giving every reaſonable facility to the meaſure. Not only the pretenſions of that inſtitution, from it's original relation to the government of the United States, and from the ſervices it has rendered, are ſuch as to claim a diſpoſition favourable to it, if thoſe who are intereſted in it are willing, on their part, to place it on a footing ſatisfactory to the government, and equal to the purpoſes of a bank of the United States; but it's co-operation would materially accelerate the accompliſhment of the great object, and the colliſion, which might otherwiſe ariſe, might in a variety of ways prove equaliy diſagreeable and injurious. The incorporation or union here contemplated, may be effected in different modes, under the auſpices of an act of the United States, if it ſhall be deſired by the Bank of North-America, upon terms which ſhall appear expedient to the government.

All which is humbly ſubmitted.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, *Secretary of the Treaſury.*

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